UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Symposium

— on —

"The Pacific Settlement of International Disputes"

VOLUME XCII NUMBER 15

Chicago, December 27, 1923

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

FRANK C. DOAN
CHARLES F. DOLE
ZONA GALE
JESSE H. HOLMES
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
H. R. MUSSEY
FRANCIS NEILSON
EDMUND H. REEMAN
ALSON H. ROBINSON
CLARENCE R. SKINNER
SYDNEY STRONG
ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Managing Editor

EDITH LLOYD JONES

Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:

ROBERT COLLYER, Chicago. WM. C. GANNETT, St. Paul.
JENKIN LL. JONES, Janesville. C. W. WENDTE, Cincinnati.
J. C. LEARNED, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

FRANCIS L. ROBERTS, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
J. T. SUNDERLAND, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
GEO. W. COOKE, Grand Haven, Mich., - } "Notes and News."

Editorial Contributors

Charles E. Beals
Harry Foster Burns
Charles W. Casson
Percy M. Dawson
James Waldo Fawcett
David Starr Jordan
Curtis W. Reese
Anna Garlin Spencer
Frederick Starr
Jabez T. Sunderland
James H. West

Foreign Representatives

AUSTRALIA—Charles Strong
AUSTRIA—Stefan Zweig
BULGARIA—P. M. Matthéeff
CANADA—Sidney Snow
CHINA—Robert B. Whitaker
ENGLAND—Fred Hankinson
E. D. Morel
Walter Walsh
FRANCE—G. Demartial
Romain Rolland
INDIA—Rabindranath Tagore
ITALY—Guglielmo Lucidi
RUSSIA—Alina Huebsch

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

UNITY Fellowship Associates

BOND OF UNION

We, the undersigned, believing in the association of all men and women who are in sympathy with the aims and ideals set forth in the Announcement printed November 3rd, 1921, do invite all who wish to co-operate to join in a world-wide fellowship that has no bounds of race or creed.

The name of this fellowship is The Unity Fellowship Associates and its purpose is the interpretation of the Religion of Democracy. Membership means a declaration of sympathy and interest. There are no dues. Members may make voluntary contributions which will be used for the purpose of making known the aims of the Fellowship and the publication of its literature.

UNITY will be the organ of this Fellowship and all members will be requested, though not compelled, to be subscribers.

Lists of the members will be sent to all members so that they may be known to one another. Local groups may be formed wherever there exists a sufficient number and there is the desire to do so.

All persons who desire to become members may do so by sending their names to UNITY, care of Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, Ill.

Name .....

Address .....

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

To UNITY PUBLISHING COMPANY,
700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find check for which please enter my subscription to UNITY for one year.

Mr. (Mrs. or Miss) _____

Address _____

Rates: $3.00 ($3.50 in Canada; $4.00 in other countries) for a year's subscription. Single copies 10 cents.

Contents

Symposium on "The Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" 227

ARTICLES—

The Sayings of Gandhi..... 235
The New Universalism.—REV. KLAAS OOSTERHUIS 236
Good-will.—C. W. R..... 238

THE STUDY TABLE—

The Words of Gandhi.—J. H. H..... 237
"The Friends of England."—REV. ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY 237

CORRESPONDENCE—

"America's Duty to Germany."—TARAKNATH DAS 238
An Emerson Poem for the Unity Fellowship.—LYDIA WENTWORTH 239
The Country to Be "Cleaned Up" by Klansmen.—SARA GERTRUDE HARRINGTON..... 239

POETRY—

The Other Shepherd.—*Margaret Widdemer*... 240

THE FIELD—

League for Industrial Democracy—Economics Prizes 239

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCII. THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1923 NUMBER 15

SYMPOSIUM

ON

"The Pacific Settlement of International Disputes"

On October 4th last, UNITY published an elaborate "Memorandum" by an eminent American lawyer, Mr. J. Reuben Clark, embodying a plan for "the pacific settlement of international disputes." In this same issue, in a careful two-page editorial, we published our own "Program for Peace."

Copies of this issue of UNITY were sent to a large number of newspapers, magazines, religious journals, and well-known public men and peace-workers, with a request that Mr. Clark's plan and our program be examined and criticized. The papers, of course, very generally ignored us, but from the individuals addressed came a large number of replies.

The most interesting and important of these replies we present herewith, in just balance *pro* and *con,* for the consideration of our readers. We ourselves feel distinctly encouraged by the result, and shall continue unremittingly our battle for our "Program for Peace."
—EDITORS.

A—*In Favor*

(1) JOHN DEWEY,
Columbia University, New York City, N. Y.

. . . I want to take this occasion to express my hearty agreement with your editorial in this week's UNITY. I have just been having an exchange of letters with William Adams Brown, in which he has reproached the friends of outlawry for not stating more definitely just what they want as a basis of closer European co-operation, and I have referred him to your editorial as expressing the ideas with which many of us thoroughly agree.

(2) S. B. McCORMICK,
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.

I have read the plan for International Peace, as set forth in recent issue of UNITY, and it seems to be a valuable contribution. It proceeds along the line of persuasion rather than force and this is the right line. Back of all machinery must be persistent effort to eliminate hatred and substitute understanding and friendship—without which all leagues and courts are hopeless.

(3) DR. FRANCIS E. CLARK,
President, United Society of Christian Endeavor, Boston, Mass.

I have read carefully the "Program for Peace" in the October 4th number of UNITY.

I cannot endorse all that you write concerning the League of Nations, which it seems to me has done much worth-while work, and would do much more if our nation were in it.

But the last part of your article I like very much, and I do not see why Mr. Clark's plan could not be united with the principles of the League of Nations, thus greatly strengthening it, and making it far more effective than ever before.

I do not claim that my opinions are of any special value, but I am exceedingly interested in every sane proposition to promote the peace of the world. On two recent visits to Central Europe I have seen enough of the horrors of the present so-called "peace," to stand for any such movement as your article outlines, and should have no slight hope of its triumphant success if it were adopted.

(4) CATHERINE E. MARSHALL,
Vice-President, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, England.

Thank you for sending me a copy of the current issue of UNITY. I am very much interested indeed in your plan for an American policy for international co-operation and peace. I have for the last two years felt and said that in some such scheme lay the only hope for international development of the kind all of us Pacifists are working for. I am afraid I have not time at the moment to study the scheme carefully and send you a considered opinion on it, though I shall be very much interested to do this in a few weeks' time. We are just in the middle of moving from my old home in Cumberland to a new one in London, and I do not expect to be unpacked and able to resume work till nearly the end of November.

In the meantime I have sent on the copy of UNITY to my friend Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, of the British Section of the Women's International League, and of the Union of Democratic Control. You have probably sent her a copy direct. If not, I know she will be greatly interested to see your scheme. She is chairman of a Committee the British W. I. L. has set up for promoting concerted action for a New Peace and a new League of Nations.

(5) MRS. HENRY VILLARD,
Chairman, Women's Peace Society.

I have read very carefully your clear statement in the October 4th issue of UNITY, giving your reason for advocating the program which has been presented by Mr. Clark.

I cannot, of course, speak absolutely for the Women's Peace Society, but I can say that though I have heartily welcomed the Borah resolution as a step forward, and told Mr. Borah so and begged him to go farther, I, myself, am still harping on free trade as the indispensable basis for a durable peace amongst the nations of the earth. Somehow or other I cannot accept any substitute for it.

The League, which has been rightly so discredited, I should utterly discard as something impossible to conjure with, even if improved as you suggest. It seems to me like putting new wine into old bottles. Nor do I think that it is possible to establish the kind of World Court that you and I believe to be necessary until some semblance of the brotherhood of man may be brought about by the demolition of custom houses, which are certainly the most fruitful cause of wars. Therefore I would rather see the cause of free trade furthered than all else, based as it is upon the impartial spirit of human liberty.

In one respect I wholly agree with you, and it is this—that the United States ought to play a noble part in the restoration of Europe, and this can be brought about only by the use of great moral and spiritual forces which will have to be called into being in every possible way, especially by churches, universities, schools, etc.

These sentiments may or may not reflect the views of the Peace Society but I think that they are expressed fairly well in our declaration of belief.

(6) MRS. FLORENCE BOECKEL,
Educational Director, National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

Thank you very much for the special copy of UNITY. I have read the peace plan with close attention and I think it aims at an absolutely necessary thing—a combination of the various proposals now before the country. The outlawry of war should have been the first Article in the League of Nations, but it does not seem feasible now to scrap all that there is and start out on a new plan for the outlawry of war. Personally, I feel that rather more of the League could be saved than your plan suggests, but it is one of those cases in which I think that whatever will work is right. The details of the machinery won't matter if the desire to preserve peace is made strong enough.

(7) ALLEN D. HOLE,
President, Peace Association of Friends in America, Richmond, Indiana.

Thank you for the copy of UNITY which you recently mailed me, containing a plan for the pacific settlement of international disputes, as outlined by J. Reuben Clark, Jr.

You will readily understand that a thorough consideration of a plan of this kind requires much time and we cannot, of course, say that we have had opportunity to subject this plan to the careful scrutiny which it deserves, particularly the kind of scrutiny which must be given to some plan which is finally adopted as the basis of action by the United States. We have, however, had time to give sufficient attention to know that it does in general embody the principles which the membership of our group believes should constitute the basis of international action. If a plan can be devised and put into operation which will provide for the outlawry of war and for the establishment of an international organization in which the functions of legislation or at least discussion and codification is provided for, and of which a World Court is made an integral part, it would seem that the world would be well on the way to the kind of organization which must eventually be realized if the future of the world is to be better than the past.

Allow us to assure you of our appreciation of the splendid work you are doing in emphasizing these principles and in bringing them to the attention of the citizens of the United States in this definite, concrete way.

(8) MRS. HENRY STERNBERGER,
Executive Secretary, The Council of Jewish Women, New York, N. Y.

Please let me assure you of our delight in reading your program for International Peace as presented in your issue of October 4th.

I wish it were possible for us to place copies of this issue at the disposal of our Committees of Peace and each one of our 203 Sections in United States and Canada. We are making every effort to urge thought on this question on the part of our women and through a special article on "Peace Proposals before the World" which appears in the current issue of our publication, *The Jewish Woman.*

(9) WINNIFRED MASON HUCK,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

As a reader of UNITY, and as one interested most especially in the establishing of international peace, I have considered your outlawry of war with close attention, and believe it is, with the exception of my plan, the most far-reaching peace plan now before the American public. The outlawry is a plan I will support when I return to Congress as I support it now, first because of its merit but more especially because it is a very necessary follow-up to my plan which I believe to be the most logical first step to take.

Briefly, I propose that the President (having been authorized by Congress) inform the countries of the world that the United States will delegate to its people the sole and exclusive power to declare war against any and all nations which will give a like power to its people in regard to the United States.

Knowing there can be no definite progress in the establishing of international peace except through concessions upon the part of each country to a force common to all, and knowing that, to date the proposed international courts have failed to inspire universal confidence I have introduced in the 67th Congress the reciprocal method of conceding the war vote, to all people, who are in reality the natural force all governments have in common.

The reason I believe this to be the logical first step, is that the first act of Congress proposing to reciprocate in the matter of a war referendum, will give the idea an educational impetus in this country but most

especially will provide for subsequent actions in other countries which will start immediate discussion and automatic education in these foreign countries. And we will not have to wait, as for instance in the case of the Monroe Doctrine, we waited for occasions, such as the Venezuela controversy, upon which to establish our stand through definite international action.

The act of declaring war a crime by erasing all laws of war makes no direct concession to a people and therefore does not arouse a great deal of individual interest. The act of declaring war a crime of course will give peace education a certain lead, but not the opportunity that a direct concession to the people would give. In order to make the people of the world accept war as a crime, the people's understanding of which is the one great insurance against the future governmental disregard of the policy, its declaration as such by the governments of the world, would require a certain follow-up educational campaign. This would require either a concerted course of action or take a great deal of time, as for example our Monroe Doctrine has taken a hundred years in which to encounter the incidents and controversies upon which to establish Monroe Doctrine precedents. In other words, the act of each country making war a crime would require an educational campaign in order to carry the idea to the people and anchor it in their minds as the necessary safeguard to the future action of those in power, while the act giving the people the war vote would be met eagerly by them, and the safeguard to its future observance would be established automatically.

The plan of the war vote also has other advantages over other plans. The United States declaring certain peace making policies has no way of forcing like legislation upon other countries except through example and American propaganda, while in the case of the war vote, we have a direct concession to make in return to any government that concedes the war vote to its people. In other words, the war vote established by my method, has in it the elements of making it universal. And since any legislation for international peace is *only as effective as it is universal,* it is my belief, that whatever we do with other peace plans we must start at once to put the war vote legislation in motion.

In order to establish war vote treaties between other countries exclusive of the United States, I have introduced a resolution in the 67th Congress announcing our refusal to make any concessions to any government that does not give its people a vote upon the question of a primary declaration of war.

(10) CURTIS W. REESE,

Chairman, Federation of Religious Liberals, Chicago.

UNITY's Program for Peace is superb! I am thrilled beyond measure! Great! Immense!

I want to make this the Federation's Program also. Somehow this issue of UNITY makes me feel closer to you. It is idealism with its feet on the ground. It is vision with a realistic basis.

(11) PETER AINSLIE,

Minister of the Christian Temple, Baltimore, Maryland.

I am glad to see a copy of UNITY again. I remember reading it quite frequently in the days of my friend, Jenkin Lloyd Jones. I was interested in the statement of Mr. Levinson, and I am glad to read of the peace program suggested by Mr. Clark. In the main I like it. In fact, anything in the way of a peace program that stresses acquaintance and education, and is against war between nations is of great interest to me. War is a criminal transaction, as we already hold that murder between individuals is criminal.

The day is coming when the Christian man cannot see two sides to this question. If two nations can murder each other, two individuals can have the same right. Man killing is a crime, whether done by one man or by 100,000 men. It is fundamentally wrong, and all the attempted adjustments cannot bring Christianity and militarism into agreement. We have got to come to the place where we shall believe that man is sacred, and man killing is the greatest of crimes.

(12) JOHN HOWLAND LATHROP,

Minister of the Church of the Savior (Unitarian), Brooklyn, N. Y.

Ever since the plan for world organization printed in UNITY and your splendid editorial on that plan I have wanted to say that I regard your utterance as the most statesmanlike thing I have read in a long time. Of course, my feeling is, I suppose, dictated by the fact that I so wholly agree with you. I cannot refrain from expressing my enthusiastic appreciation.

(13) NORMAN B. BARR,

Superintendent, Olivet Institute, Chicago.

We are very grateful to you for the copy of UNITY for October 4th with a constructive plan for international peace. The plan has much to commend it and has this advantage that it tends to capitalize the interest which is attached to these international organizations. In other words, it is the stem growing out of historical, political roots instead of being an air-plant.

(14) MAUDE N. HOLBACH,

Casa St. Elizabeth, Switzerland.

Your "Program for Peace" in the number of UNITY (Oct. 4th) which came yesterday interests me deeply and also my husband who said when he read it that the idea of the Outlawry of War had occurred to him in 1915, and he had discussed it with our friend Baron Wrangel, ex-Russian naval officer and pacifist, at whose house we used to meet others who were seeking a way to peace in the early years of the war. . . . I should like to do my bit to help your Peace Program and perhaps make up to some extent for the slackness of some others. So I want to find a way to come to America and help in a great crusade for a new League of Nations on the lines you suggest. . . .

(15) R. B. WHITAKER,

American Board Mission, China.

On returning from the country touring of the past weeks, I find two letters from you waiting for me, viz., the ones of Sept. 26th and of Oct. 1st. Thank you for your kind words as to the manuscripts which I have sent you. . . . You are doing such splendid campaigning for international peace and justice that it is surely an honor to be counted among those who are associated with you. Your editorial, "Our Program for Peace," which is in the number of UNITY just come to hand is the best practical working program for peace that I have seen anywhere, That, together with Mr.

Levinson's plan as presented previously, and Mr. Clark's "Memorandum" surely puts UNITY at the very front of the constructive workers for a new internationalism. I hope that your program as presented may receive wide notice in other publications.

Wishing UNITY all success in the campaign for peace, I am,

(16) WILLIAM I. HULL,
Swarthmore College, in "Friends' Intelligencer."

ONE PROGRAM FOR PEACE

After the Bok Peace Prize Committee has made its award for what it considers the best plan presented to it, the people of the United States will be called upon to take under consideration not only the plan to which the prize is awarded but many of the others submitted. One of these plans has already been published in UNITY (in the issue for October 4, 1923), and is proposed by the editor of UNITY, Dr. John Haynes Holmes. Dr. Holmes has appealed to his fellow-editors for editorial comment upon his plan and especially upon its feature for the "outlawry of war."

The plan proposed by the late Senator Knox and S. O. Levinson, of Chicago, and championed by Senator Borah, namely, that war should be "outlawed," Dr. Holmes accepts with enthusiasm; but at the same time he believes that the labor, money, and great devotion which have gone into the building of the League of Nations should not be entirely lost. He, therefore, proposes that the advocates of the League of Nations and the champions of the outlawry of war should get together on the following platform:

(1) The outlawry of war by an agreement among nations that a declaration of war is a crime and the participants in war are criminals.

(2) The recodification of international law on the basis of the outlawry of war.

(3) A World Court with original and affirmative jurisdiction, which can be secured by taking over the existing League Court and modifying it.

(4) The establishment of an international legislative body, "not so much for actual legislation as for discussion, investigation, resolution and—most important—the periodical recodification of the new international law." This international legislative body is to be "the present League of Nations, separated entirely from the Versailles Treaty and provided with a radically amended covenant." (By this he doubtless means the *Assembly* of the present League of Nations.)

Upon this platform can stand, Dr. Holmes believes, "all lovers of peace, from the conservative who would use armies to enforce peace, to the radical who is absolutely non-resistant." We agree entirely with him that all lovers of peace should be ready to accept all four of the planks in his platform. The last three are in everyone's mind and must earnestly and enthusiastically be worked for, if they are to be realized. It is, however, the first plank in the platform upon which Dr. Holmes lays chief stress and which he is chiefly desirous of having carefully considered.

There is of course something absurd in the detailed codification of the "laws of war" by international law, only to have all of these laws ignored when war comes. And there is something equally absurd in the justification of war by international law on the ground that the sovereignty of states demands a resort to it should states so desire. Thorough-going pacifists are determined not merely to scotch but to kill the snake of war, not merely to confine it by rules but to abolish it. They are equally determined that the theoretical sovereignty of states shall no longer be used as a bar to the abolition of war. A simple agreement, however, among the nations that war shall be declared a crime, without any penalties being provided for the punishment of the criminal and without any machinery for the enforcement of those penalties, appeals to many people as simply a "scrap of paper." While any penalties in the form of military or economic coercion of entire nations would, of course, be unacceptable to pacifists, since such penalties would themselves constitute war.

From the point of view of Christianity, there is something much more fundamental which is prerequisite to outlawing war by governmental proclamation; and that is that war shall be outlawed by Christianity itself, or rather by those who profess it. Until Christians and Christian churches repudiate all war as utterly un-Christian and refuse to participate in it or in preparations for it, there is but little prospect that governmental action would avail. Our experience with the abolition of slavery and the prohibition of alcoholic liquors is sufficient to convince us of this truth.

B—*Against*

(1) NEWTON D. BAKER,
Ex-Secretary of War.

I have received your letter of October 5th and also a copy of UNITY containing the plan for international peace there so fully set up.

I have so long known of your earnest and splendid services to high and liberal causes, that I cannot permit myself to be otherwise than perfectly frank in acknowledging your letter and paper.

The League of Nations is organized and in existence. Fifty-four nations are already members of the League and many of them regard it as the only guaranty they have against external aggression. I have just come from Europe, where I had the privilege of talking with men like Benes, Nansen and a host of others, and I know that the small states of Europe are so committed to the League that they would despair of their future if anything were done to lessen its authority or threaten its continuance.

The recent conference of the Prime Ministers of the British Empire in London is another conclusive proof of the vital position which the League occupies. The Colonial Prime Ministers unanimously resolved that the whole force of the British Empire should be put back of the League, and that in every future controversy with regard to it, it should be supported fearlessly.

Of course the covenant of the League of Nations has obscurities in its phrases. The Constitution of the United States has been in process of interpretation by the Supreme Court for 135 years and there are still unexplored meanings in it. The tenderest hearts and the wisest heads of the world have been interpreting the New Testament for nearly 2000 years, and we are still finding new comforts and new inspirations there. The time, in my judgment, has passed when new plans

of international co-operation can be profitably discussed, and each new plan proposed is, in my judgment, however wise it may be and however well intended, merely an attack on the plan already in existence and working. If in 1789 a lot of people had refused co-operation with the Constitution on the theory that they knew how to write better ones or to clear up doubtful phrases in it, the damage would have been irreparable. The course followed was the wise one, and so with the covenant of the League, we ought to accept it as it is and throw into it all the enthusiasm and devotion we can with a view, first, to preserving it as a palpable, substantial thing, and second, with a view of broadening and strengthening it until it does become adequate where it is now inadequate, and clear where it is now uncertain. For my own part I cannot refuse to help an old farmer pull his apple cart out of a mud hole merely because he was not wise enough at the outset to provide himself with a high-powered motor truck.

For these reasons I have not the least interest in the plan proposed in UNITY or in any other plan, no matter how perfect or superior it may be to the covenant of the League of Nations. With regard to the whole matter I have only a sense of deep grief that your fine enthusiasm is not enlisted for the League, rather than, as it seems to me, enlisted against it.

(2) GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY,
Saratoga Springs, New York.

I have just read with great interest and care your "Program for Peace" in UNITY, which, unfortunately, I have not been able to open sooner.

It is difficult for me to quite understand how any one can have such enthusiasm for Mr. Levinson's plan as you suggest. I have been familiar with it for a long time and have discussed it with many and so far have been unable to find any agreement as to how it could accomplish anything, even if it appealed to more people than it does.

I find nothing in Senator Borah's record to make me give any weight to his support of any policy. He was politically very skillful in forcing the situation which resulted in the Washington Conference, which, I admit, developed, apparently, a lessening of fear on the part of both Japan and the United States. Otherwise I cannot recognize much good that has come of it and have never been able to dismiss from my mind that Secretary Hughes was, in effect, skillfully used by Great Britain to pull her chestnuts out of the fire in that grandstand play.

I observe that, while your appeal is that now we should "get together and work on a program on which all lovers of peace can stand," you preface it by assertions in your argument respecting the League of Nations that go directly counter to the logical conclusions of many of us who have been working steadfastly for peace for more years than you know and who have persisted, year in and year out, in such efforts to the utmost of our intellectual convictions and our not-unsensitive consciences.

In particular, many of us who agree (and there are millions) in the thought that President Wilson is the greatest peace-worker of the centuries, are affronted in feeling as well as conviction by the strong assumption that we have been a parcel of fools in our support of the League. You radically traverse our very distinct conclusions respecting the results of the brief life of the League of Nations, beginning as it did lame and halt beyond conception because of the failure of the U. S. to back up the promises of its President, which induced France and other nations to agree to what they felt were serious chances which they were taking with the future of their nation.

For instance, Secretary Baker, in my opinion one of the ablest minds I have come in contact with during my 60 years of active life (I am now in my 72d year) is as fully informed as anyone excepting, perhaps, President Wilson, as to the whole history of the war and the League. He was present at Geneva at the time of the Corfu incident recently and differs *in toto* from your conclusion.

With such a slashing program of attack upon the millions of citizens of the U. S. led by leaders who in my judgment are the ablest this country has had for generations, I cannot see how you expect any concert of action, even if there are more in intellectual agreement with your program than I myself can find it possible to accord. When in addition we take into account that this program is advanced by the ultra-radical element with which you are affiliated, who gave the only intellectual support given to back the Republicans in their purely partisan and unreasoning opposition to the League of Nations, it certainly seems strange that one could expect a practical outcome for an effort that necessarily and concededly depends entirely upon a united temper of those citizens of the U. S. who can influence public opinion.

In addition, although there were 59 votes in favor of the Treaty and 37 against in the U. S. Senate, your argument would give an uninformed person exactly the contrary view. Again, your reference and that made by Mr. Clark to "the overwhelming rejection in the 1920 election" begs the question as to whether that was a vital issue in the election—a doubt of which is most seriously challenged by a very large percentage of the people; practically all of the Democrats and a great number of Republicans, who, like the 31, voted for Mr. Harding with the expectation that the 31 were right in believing that that was the surest way to enter the League.

It ignores what is now quite generally conceded—that a large percentage of the Irish vote and a well-nigh unanimous German vote was cast with the determination to punish President Wilson for taking the U. S. into the war with the resultant defeat of Germany and success of Great Britain. I have no question that, if the responsibility for the defeat of Germany could have been eliminated from the minds of those who voted, the vast majority of votes in 1920 would have been cast in favor of the League of Nations. Whether I am right or wrong it is my opinion and that of many others that the assumption by the very small body of radical thinkers, so-called (which I think must be admitted to be represented by those for whom you speak) that this view of the case is utterly without the merit of even recognition as your program indicates, is certainly the last method to secure unity of action in any program. I am writing solely with reference to the point you make of our now getting together.

With reference now to the specific series of propositions: "Crime" implies an infraction of law, which the practice of the world has been to punish. The reference to punishment of piracy confirms this definition.

I discover no penalty for the criminal declaration of war in your proposition, so of what avail would it be? As a pronounced pacifist and non-resistant, I can sympathize with the extreme practice of Mr. Osborne's program for reforming our criminal procedure as regards prisons in our own and other countries, where law has achieved practical recognition from the great body of people and the moral impact of social, communal and official denouncement and judicial pronouncement becomes a serious instrument. But we have not yet attained a status where we can do away with the prison for the incarceration of the law-breaker, even should we adopt, as I wish we could, Mr. Osborne's gospel as the basis of practice.

Inasmuch as international law is ages behind the legal status and moral force of public opinion, it seems to me a rather ridiculous assumption that a declaration of "outlawry of war" will suffice to end it. In fact I observe Mr. Clark says, "The practical fact cannot be ignored that war will hereafter be waged," going on to provide for rules for conducting war, etc., thus implying that war will not be outlawed in the sense of being done away with. What I, as a non-resistant Pacifist want is that war should be done away with. I believe, and the more after reading your program, that the disarmament program provided in the constitution of the League of Nations is incalculably more promising than your first two propositions in assuring world peace.

The World Court proposal does not seem to me to have any advantage as regards influence in preventing war over the present constitution of the two Hague bodies, especially with the, to my mind, effective relationship which the League of Nations has in connection with the permanent Court.

I agree that there would be great advantage if we could "establish an international legislative body," but not until there was a public sentiment throughout the world to give it support. As my mind works, no single proposition can be more directly opposed to the arguments made by the opponents of the League of Nations in the Senate of the U. S. and their supporters in general in the Republican party and the few supporters among leading Democrats. It is my clear judgment that the present constitution of the League of Nations is by far the most effective approach to a legislative body that the world public opinion or the general public knowledge of the world can justify today.

I cannot conceive of anything more offensive to the informed public mind of the day that is responsive to the idea of world peace and its assurance, than the continual flouting of the present League of Nations and the results of its actions. You will, of course, admit that Secretary Baker and unnumbered thousands of those who are active supporters of the League have had every opportunity that you have had to know every last detail of practice, of difficulty and of trend respecting the constitution of the League of Nations and its actions during its short life. I submit that they are entitled to far more respect and consideration from you and your associates who propose united action by lovers of peace than is even hinted at in your all-inclusive denunciation, not merely of the League as it is and has shown itself, but of their mental capacity and freedom of conscience.

For instance, you say: "The League's advocates, by the accidents of fortune, have unfortunately been manœuvred into the position of preferring the League at any cost, even that of peace, instead of preferring peace at any cost, even that of the League." And this after you have before said: "The immense intellectual and moral power of the present supporters of the League, whom we believe to be indispensable in the campaign that lies ahead." If I had not read this over again now I could not believe that these two things could have been written or even thought by the same mind because the one is a complete indictment as to the integrity of both mind and conscience of those whom you commend as having "immense intellectual and moral power."

I emphasize this because it seems to me the fundamental difficulty in the minds of yourself, Mr. Villard, Mr. Croly and other editorial spirits, the only intellectual and alert critics of the League of Nations. For Liberals, as I am sure you desire to be, the intolerant spirit is to me an extraordinary one. For instance, you say: "The story of the Saar Valley is the perfect illustration" of the "Failure of the League." Again you say: "The recent tragic fiasco over the Greco-Italian quarrel is, of course, the final demonstration of this failure."

You are, of course, well aware that many of us, reading as we thought with care the reports, meager though they were by cable, were satisfied that it was the focusing by the assembly of the League of Nations in discussion of world opinion upon the Council of Ambassadors, that assured prompt action, even though that action was, to my mind, very partial in wrongly directing payment of the money to Italy. You also are well aware that Mrs. Tuttle, Secretary Baker and many others who were present in Geneva at the time of the Corfu incident and who had every facility for knowing all the details, differ completely with your assertion. I am not questioning your right to hold your view but I do question both the policy for one seeking to unite groups of men and the fairness of your writing "as an admitted final demonstration of this fact" what is only the opinion of certainly a minority of observers.

I am writing thus with extreme frankness because I sympathize with your assertion that the United States "must act" and I believe she should act under the leadership of those who wish to abolish war and assure world peace. You admit that you think Mr. Clark's plan can be improved upon by a "salvage," as you call it, of what is good in the League of Nations. Do you not think, in view of your admission as to the quality of many, at any rate, of the supporters of the League and the fact that 52 nations have actually been functioning together and are functioning with enthusiastic *amour propre* that these considerations are worthy of more thought and weight than your article would indicate?

I am sorry not to have found more that seemed attractive and practical in your program. I confess it confirms me more strongly in the conviction I have had specifically since I was asked to meet and discuss Mr. Bok's generous action, viz., that it would not be found practicable to devise any proposal having one-tenth the promise of results for world peace that the present League of Nations has.

I cannot at all admit your contention respecting the criminality of the Versailles Treaty nor the fact that it would have been possible to have gotten something

much better by any action on our part; certainly not in view of the violent criticism which not only the partisan Republicans but which you and a few other active intellectuals working with the leverage of editorial reach spread over Europe to weaken the power of President Wilson in his utilizing of the moral forces of the United States, which he had so effectively concentrated in his messages, which were so great a factor in bringing the war to an end. I have no use, of course, for either French or German militarism and should have been glad if the United States could have kept out of the war, but I concede that, as the majority of the people of the United States are not Pacifists as yet—certainly were far from it in 1914—that that could not have been.

I must frankly say that I think one of the weak points of, I should think, 90 per cent of the radical leaders who criticize the League is that they have indicated the smallest temper of criticism of Germany before, during and since the war. Of course many of them are Socialists in conviction and one finds it difficult to disassociate this thought from their doubtless more or less unconscious sympathy with the fact that in Germany was the predominantly Socialist stronghold of the world.

I refer to this frankly because, if we are to get together, we certainly must face in advance all the subtle lines of influence which affect mentality, subjectively, objectively and projectively.

I am, with personal high regard,

Faithfully yours,

(3) CHARLES F. DOLE,
Jamaica Plain, Mass.

I am sorry to be obliged to demur from your approval of the Clark plan for securing world peace. I am reminded of the Maine farmer, who used to come down now and then to Bangor to procure booze. Some one met him on one of these errands and asked what he was doing in Bangor. Replying that he was going for an orgy, he added: "But, my God, how I hate it!" Now, there are hosts of people who tell us, no doubt sincerely, that they abhor war, while they are always determined to keep open for themselves the way of recourse to it. I observe that even Judge Clark recognizes the queer inconsistency of declaring war a crime, and proceeding straightway with the threat of the use of the whole war-power of the world to forbid or to punish the nation, or group of nations, who may venture to use war again! How can that be a "crime," which we have all been using up to date, without a word of penitence touching our part in it, the means for which we continue to hold in readiness for the punishment of other men, labelled "criminals," we, the punishers, at once washing our hands of the crime which we so virtuously charge against them alone? Can we easily conceive an actual case for which Judge Clark's plan provides, where the one side, for example, the "League of Nations," will be altogether wise and free of guilt, and the blame will belong to the "criminal" nation alone?

This question brings us to the very crux of the objection against the plan at issue. It represents the nations as still facing each other in the same nervous and mutually suspicious attitude in which they have habitually conducted themselves throughout the wearisome centuries of perpetual war. It is the attitude that characterizes men who always go armed; it is the attitude of legalism, which even in discussing international law, is always thinking of the "laws of war"; it is in and behind the diplomacy of nations which are afraid of one another, or again of nations, who are embarked more or less openly in schemes of imperialistic adventure, and who are accustomed to send war-ships to back up the action of their Departments of State. It is not in human nature, when it has a good, strong "stick" at its disposal, to meet men and behave toward weaker men quite as we normally conduct ourselves when we meet as neighbors and fellows.

The big need of the world is not the codification of further laws of war. We ought to be ashamed to talk with one another about war! We ought to be too much ashamed of what we have all been doing to talk about "the next war," or "another war," and much less of how "in case of such a war," we may get at the one guilty nation, and deal him adequate punishment! There is no nation in all the world that does not live in a certain fear, not of unknown barbarians, but of what the "Great Powers" may do with their armies and navies and airplanes (yes, we must confess it!) of what the United States may do unjustly, selfishly, or in precipitate passion. The fear of war is the curse of the world. We need release from this inhuman fear. We need to be rid of the odious and unseemly attitude of nations prepared to fight. How can we have peace, so long as any of us keep up the system of war, and are always preparing for war? We find, therefore, the same fault in Judge Clark's plan as we have found in the "League of Nations," brought to birth out of the horrid and cruel Versailles Treaty; and in the dreary "League to Enforce Peace," also born with threats in its mouth. The attitude is that of peoples living in fear of one another, and each feeling for the handle of his stick.

Some of us had hoped by this time to hear the voice of a new gospel to the world, spoken by increasing numbers of plain people, all taking a new attitude, as of men who, in a great common emergency, meet one another with friendly hearts and stretch out brotherly hands. We see no use for our steel ships or the bombs, or the poisons, any more than we see use for the war-clubs of the savages. We see no use for any residue of them, as we see no use for keeping on hand a residue of the instruments of torture, with which our ignorant forefathers once sought to stamp witchcraft out of the world. War will go, as witchcraft went, as soon as you cease to keep on hand the torturing irons, and the psychology of the torture irons, and the attitude of the men who worked the irons and throve by their means, and who in spite of themselves took on the fears that grow all over men who live in the atmosphere of torture.

Now, many of us have hoped and still hope, that UNITY may be counted on to stand for the best, and for no plausible second-best. Not enough voices as yet are telling the people of America the very best that they need to know and to do. Who knows but that the people would rally to a ringing call for a great new enterprise—for nothing less than that the United States instead of timidly waiting as now to see what other nations will do, shall go right on to do what we all wish every other people would do, and boldly forswear war and all the means of war at once! Who doubts

that, with America leading the way, the same call would go out into all the world? Who shall not say that in twenty years there may not be a single armed nation on the earth? Who can doubt that our children will wonder to read that we were ever all afraid of each other, and that this generation of ours was so slow and fearful in taking the great human venture which should make us all free, and every people on earth our good friends forever!

(4) CHARLES S. MACFARLAND,

General Secretary, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

In reply to your letter of October 5th, I have read with interest the proposals contained in the issue of UNITY of October 4th.

It would of course take too long to analyze them in detail, but my general impression is first, that they scrap altogether too much and second, the substitutions are not equal to the material which is scrapped.

(5) WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN,

Union Theological Seminary, New York.

I read with much interest your editorial in UNITY on "Our Program for Peace" and am glad to see that you recognize that in any such plan the existing League of Nations must have a place. I confess that it has been hard for me to understand why those who have regarded the present League of Nations as unsatisfactory have been so slow to see that it was one of their most efficient instruments for bringing about the better association to which they look forward.

I appreciate that the association of the League and the Treaty of Versailles is the strongest reason for this attitude, yet I cannot but believe that much of the opposition rests upon a fundamental misconception of the true state of the case. Opponents of the League talk as if the League were committed to the maintenance of the provisions of the present treaty and so, to many iniquities against which their soul revolts. But the League is, in fact, a piece of machinery by which it is possible peaceably to change the provisions of the Treaty provided the will to change them is there. The League, as such, is not committed to the principle that the Versailles Treaty shall not be changed; it is committed to something very definite and far more important which is fundamental to the whole situation—*that the present situaion shall not be changed by war.* The reason for this is that unless the element of fear which the possibility of war keeps alive is banished, the state of mind cannot be created which will make possible the peaceable adjustment of disputes for which the League provides the machinery.

No one regrets more than the advocates of the League that it has not done more and better than it has done. At least, it has this to its credit, that while others have talked and said what ought or ought not to be done, it has made an honest effort to deal with that group of questions which threatened war, which came within its province. No doubt it would have been better if the state of mind of the Great Powers had been such that it could have dealt with Corfu and the Ruhr as it has dealt with Albania, the Aland Islands and Austria. But the difficulties which have prevented it from doing this would have equally blocked any alternative proposal which attempted to curb national selfishness without war. Nothing can bring about the great goal that we all have at heart—the outlawry of war—except the education of world opinion. But for this we need agencies, and I think it is a simple matter of fact to say that as an agency for the education of public opinion in favor of the peaceable adjustment of international disputes today, there is nothing in the world comparable to the institution at Geneva.

As a teacher, it has been hard for me to understand the depreciation of the so-called "little things" which the League has been doing as though they were negligible or unimportant. All education begins with little things in order to create the precedents which will later make it easy to do greater things. For this reason I welcome heartily the position which you have taken in your recent editorial and trust that as a part of that process of moral education which is incident to the greater campaign which you have been waging, you will keep your readers fully informed of the good things that are actually being done and the greater things that are being planned at Geneva.

(6) ARTHUR P. SCOTT,

University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

I have read with interest the plan outlined in UNITY for October 4. My opinion on the plan will not be of much value because my background of assumptions is somewhat different.

I have not been able to agree with those who have nothing but denunciation for the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations as originally planned. The League of Nations Covenant goes as far in the direction of outlawing war as could well be desired. Its failure to operate satisfactorily is due to causes which would equally militate against Mr. Levinson's scheme for its formal outlawry. Such a large part of the American public has been filled with unreasoning and unreasonable opposition to any form of international co-operation that I do not believe Mr. Clark's proposal has the slightest chance of success. The proposal that the United States should join with other powers in declaring its intention of punishing any nation which should declare war seems to me substantially the same as that involved in the Covenant of the League of Nations. I do not see the slightest possibility of getting all the nations of the world to agree to a treaty embodying the points mentioned on page 39.

While I cordially sympathize with any program of education, I am still of the opinion that the failure of the United States to enter the League of Nations and to use its influence from the inside for the settlement of reparations and other problems has meant the loss of an opportunity which cannot now in any large measure be retrieved. I take it that, if our Government finds a favorable attitude on the part of the other great powers, it will be willing to co-operate in other conferences along the lines of the Pacific Conference for the further limitation of armaments and for the settlement of reparations and international debts. Apart from that, no program seems to me to promise very much.

(7) JAMES G. McDONALD,

Chairman, Foreign Policy Association, New York City, New York.

I have read with interest the article, "The Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes" by J. Reuben

Clark, Jr., in the October 4 issue of UNITY. There is in it much with which all of us must agree, but it contains also much which seems to me at once unsound and impracticable. Your "Our Program for Peace" seems to me much sounder.

But I wonder whether both you and Mr. Clark do not share with the avowed advocates of America's entrance into the League of Nations a common tendency to exaggerate what it is reasonable to expect the United States at present to accept. For instance, I think it no more likely that this administration or any succeeding one will in the near future be any more willing to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of an international court corresponding roughly to our national Supreme Court than to enter into the League of Nations as at present constituted.

(8) KENNETH B. ELLIMAN,
Secretary, International Free Trade League, Boston, Mass.

I thank you for your letter of October 5th and for sending me the copy of UNITY for that week, containing Mr. Clark's plan for the settlement of international disputes.

I have read Mr. Clark's proposals and your comments thereon with interest, and find many good sentiments in them. While Mr. Clark's plan seems to me to be superior in some respects to the present League of Nations, it seems to me to be fallacious in the following respects:

1. It adds to the already excessive machinery of political government an international super-state. Wars are declared and carried on by governments; and I therefore believe that wars may better be decreased and abolished by taking away the powers of political governments and eventually abolishing them completely.

2. It does not make any provision for establishing justice between nations by removing obstacles to international trade and intercourse. So long as nations carry on economic war with each other by imposing taxes on imports and exports, armed conflicts and military and naval preparedness for them are almost inevitable; and no machinery for dealing with the *resulting* conflicts can take the place of removing the *economic causes*. Remove all economic barriers between nations, and there will be no more danger of war between nations than there is now between the separate States of our Union or the separate counties of England.

What we need is fewer laws and machinery, not more.

(9) ELIZABETH TILTON,
National Legislative Chairman, Congress of Mothers.

I wish I were qualified to give a good opinion on Mr. J. Reuben Clark's "Pacific Settlement of International Disputes." But alas!—it is all so technical, this question of whether we should enter a world court (new, unattached and democratically elected) or the World Court (a part of the League of Nations). This question is going to be tremendously threshed over in the coming months when, perhaps, we shall all be wiser.

All I can do is to sail close to the shore of certain broad principles. I believe the era of nationalism is passing, and a new concept is forming underneath, of an internationalized world. I think this new concept will be realized, but just how we shall muddle through to it is in the lap of the gods. Everyone must see that the Versailles treaty is a bad bit of the old order of nationalism, attached to the new ideal of internationalism, like the old moon lying in the new moon's arms.

You think it is a pity to start with so much of the old moon attached. It is a pity, but perhaps this is the way it is going to be done. Things could always, in history, have been more cleanly done, but they were done otherwise. Whether Europe can be got to make a fresh beginning is a question, or whether we had better take what we have and build gradually, sloughing off the old, the Versailles Treaty. Things are done as they are, not as they should be, and yet new eras come to be.

You think Europe will be willing to scrap the League and set up a Simon-pure beginning of an international government. Perhaps you are right. I am not on the European spot, and I don't know.

In the meantime, let me assure you that our organization is for the principle of a World Court and desires to forward all sensible steps towards some lasting organization of nations.

(10) CHARLES H. STRONG,
Lawyer, New York City, N. Y.

I have read with interest the paper prepared by Major Clark. I would not say that there is anything in it that I disapprove. But I am appalled when I think of the reception that such elaborate and advanced proposals would have in the United States Senate, when we consider how they have stalled anything so comparatively simple as the World Court and the League of Nations.

I simply cannot see why you are not willing to work along with the World Court or the League Court, as you call it, and the League of Nations with the Clark program as the ultimate, or at least your ultimate, for you know that even if we should ever reach the Clark plan there would be something beyond that. If the Court and the League were *no* good, or even if they were a dangerous experiment, I could understand why you shy away from them, but I do not think that you claim that.

Sayings of Gandhi

Europe is today only nominally Christian. In reality it is worshipping Mammon.

It is certainly necessary to purge religion of its excrescences, but it is equally necessary to expose the hollowness of moral pretensions on the part of those who prefer material wealth to moral gain. It is easier to wean an ignorant fanatic from his error than a confirmed scoundrel from his scoundrelism.

With the honor of India is bound up the honor of every nation known to be weak.

A spiritual weapon is good, whether it is wielded by one or many.

The best of us have but a vague and indistinct belief in soul force and in God.

The New Universalism

When we look upon the world as we find it, when we study the facts of our social order, we cannot but feel more or less discouraged as to the outlook for the future of western civilization. Here is the world in which we are living suffering from the effects of the war; here is the world torn to pieces by a greedy economic system of competition; here is the human race divided against itself through national hatreds, racial hatreds and narrow sectarian dogmas and traditions of the past. Not only does there exist disunity amid the economic forces of life but there is also an obvious disharmony among the spiritual forces of our age.

Taking these facts into account we come to realize that the so-called religious organizations of the past few decades have not been able to meet the spiritual needs and hungerings of mankind. We are convinced that the old time religious practices and performances have lost their influence upon the masses of the people. Hence the fact that more than sixty per cent of our people are not connected with any church whatever. In spite of much preaching, in spite of much revivalism, in spite of the stress laid upon a correct belief and rites and ceremonies, churches, generally speaking, do not appeal to the great bulk of our population.

Various denominations are building great cathedrals in honor of the dead of departed greatness, and yet humanity is spiritually dying because religious institutions do not supply that spiritual nourishment necessary to prevent the disintegration of mankind.

Western or Christian civilization has made a wonderful contribution toward the progress of mankind. This contribution has been decidedly material. This material progress has been marvelous, but it has been unable to control spiritually the material forces of life. This lack of spiritual control is the cause of the economic disorder and chaos of today. We realize that we are still afar off from the realizations of the teachings of Jesus.

We are coming to realize that more and more a new philosophy of life is needed in order to establish spiritual unity in this divided world of ours. The old time theological differences do not seem to interest people any more. There is a genuine desire for spiritual unity among all peoples of the earth, regardless of race, color, or creed.

The new religion which is needed for today is a world-wide religion; it must be inclusive instead of exclusive; it must break down the old-time theological and sectarian barriers and establish the equality of all men. This new faith will neither be Baptist, nor Methodist, nor Unitarian, but it will be universal in its outlook. As a matter of fact it will go even farther than this, because it will not be called "Christian" though of course it will accept the universal principles found in the Christian faith, which after all are the plain teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, stripped of theological paraphernalia and traditions. There is a great deal of difference between the teachings of Jesus and traditional Christianity. After looking over the dictionaries and encyclopedias, I have come to the conclusion that Christianity is nothing more nor less than a large religious sect or denomination, and that it has built up certain barriers which exclude those who do not accept what is called the Christian point of view.

It has always been puzzling to me how so-called Christians (followers of the Christ) could call themselves his followers, because Jesus himself was not a Christian, this name being given to his followers as a title of scorn in the latter part of the first century or the early half of the second. Jesus was born a Jew, he lived as a Jew, he died still being a Jew, although despised by the people of his own race. It seems hardly justifiable therefore, to defend Christianity from the standpoint of the teachings of Jesus.

The new religion of the future will be the new Universalism, because people today are gradually beginning to think in universal terms. It will be as broad as the sky, as wide as the horizon, as deep as the sea. It will take the universal elements of all religions, Jewish as well as Mohammedan, Buddhist as well as Christian. It will be neither Christian, Mohammedan, Jewish nor Buddhist; it will be simply universal (without the ISM). It will have its sacred scripture but will not accept the idea that the revelation of God was only confined to one particular people or to one certain time in human history, but that God has revealed himself to people of all ages and of all times, that even today God reveals himself to men of high ideals and vision. From generation to generation slowly the pages of the Bible of the human race are written.

> Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,
> And not on paper leaves, or leaves of stone.
> Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,
> Texts of despair or hope, of joy or moan.
> —*Lowell.*

This new Universalism accepts Jesus of Nazareth as a great prophet, but not as the only one, because it realizes that there has never lived a man as yet who has been able to give us a complete philosophy of life. It accepts the prophets of all nations and races. It does not believe that Jesus's death meant the end of all religious progress. In the new Universalism there is a place for Jesus, Buddha, Mohammed, Isaiah, Emerson and all the great leaders of the past and those yet to be born.

The New Universalism accepts the faith that Humanity is divine. The old religious interpretations were strictly Biblical, ecclesiastical, creedal and become more and more foreign to an age in which we are trying to worship God through the service of man. Instead of worshipping God up in the sky, we realize the God within all living creatures.

The most essential characteristic of this new Universalism is Love. Love among all men of all races and creeds and nations. It is this belief in universal love which will lead to economic and political equality. It will be neither pro-German, or pro-British, nor pro-American. It will be simply pro-human. No baffling theologies will divide men into sects and differing patriotisms. There will be one church only, and that will be the *living church of God.* There will be one aim only and that will be the *establishment of the Kingdom of God,* not in the heavens but *on earth.*

This New Universalism will be the common meeting ground of Jew and Gentile, of Christian and Buddhist, of Mohammedan and Hindu, of Catholic and Protestant. The Church of the Living God will be the meeting place of all mankind. The New Universalism will not be interested in the old sectarian differences, but in life itself, not in what a man believes but what he does, and how he lives, not in creeds but in *deeds.*

KLAAS OOSTERHUIS.

THE STUDY TABLE

The Words of Gandhi

We have greeted no book so warmly, and handled none so fondly, of late, as "Young India," by Mahatma Gandhi, just fresh from the Huebsch publishing house.* Here at last, in this handsome and substantial volume of 1199 pages, are the words of the great leader of the Indian people, hitherto inaccessible to American readers save in the occasional pamphlets and books from native presses that have drifted into this country across the wide stretches of the Pacific. Thanks now to the courage and vision of Mr. Huebsch, we have this invaluable collection of the Mahatma's writings under an American imprint. It must find a place, of course, in every library worthy of the name, and on the reading tables of students of world affairs and lovers of pure ideals.

Most precious in this book we find the pages (1039-1070) giving the record of the arrest and trial of Gandhi in 1922. Here is the account of the immediate events leading up to the arrest, the story of "the great trial," the Mahatma's immortal statement to the Court, the judge's remarkable reply, the sentence, and certain letters and messages following upon the event. We know of nothing outside the New Testament, save only the trial and death of Socrates in ancient times, and the trial and death of John Brown in modern times, to compare with this document. In this case, fortunately, we have not death but imprisonment as the closing chapter; but the story is destined none the less to take its permanent place in the heroic literature of all time.

No other part of the volume is so thrilling or so important as this Part IX which has to do with the trial, but the more than thousand pages preceding this closing section are of great interest, all of it from the historical, and much of it from the ethical and spiritual, point of view. What we have here is a collection of all the writings of Gandhi in the pages of his magazine, *Young India,* from the beginning of his revolutionary Non-Co-operation movement in the fall of 1919 to the Mahatma's arrest on March 15, 1922. These writings include editorials, essays, letters, interviews, some of them short, many of them extended, all of them conveying the ideas and breathing the spirit of one of the noblest idealists in the world to-day, engaged in the leadership of one of the most momentous social movements of modern times. Introduced by "a brief sketch of the Non-Co-operation movement," the articles are printed not chronologically, but in a systematic classification under such headings as "The Principles of Non-Co-operation," "The Program of Non-Co-operation," "Towards Civil Disobedience," etc. We are not sure that this arrangement is altogether wise—what is gained in clarity of thought is lost in historical sequence of ideas and events. But the volume is intended primarily for the general reader, and from this standpoint the editor has been well advised. As a source book, "Young India" is invaluable. As the record of a great soul and a great movement, it is like a modern Gospel.

J. H. H.

* "Young India," by Mahatma Gandhi. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1923. $4.

"The Friends of England"

We have not seen Sir Ian Hamilton's recent book, "The Friends of England." It is reviewed by Henry W. Nevinson in a recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian.* This review, largely because of the quotations from the book, makes us believe that it is one of the most significant books of the year. It is written by a soldier who for bravery and gallantry is the peer of any soldier who fought in the world war. He rose from the position of a subaltern through many offices of honor and trust to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Dardanelles Expedition. The war being over, Gen. Hamilton began to say in numerous addresses delivered in England such pointed and critical things that he revealed himself as man with a free mind. We, like his reviewer, have often wondered how he kept this free mind in the army, and how with it he could have risen so high in the service. It was he who was reported to have said, "When you take the word 'propaganda' off of a book, you find the word 'lie' underneath." At another time, he said, "the winning of the war was a small task compared to that of conquering the hate engendered by the war." Sir Ian is President of the Metropolitan Area of the British Legion. His book consists largely of addresses to the members of this organization. One might expect that the holder of such an office, speaking to his comrades-in-arms, might use such opportunities to tell them that they had responded to the call of statesmen, who, filled with passion for a great cause, had but one purpose, and that the salvation of humanity. We are accustomed to that sort of thing over here! Or we might expect that this great soldier would use such opportunities to increase the military ardor of the youth of today. But the quotations give no evidence of this purpose. We are glad to give them to readers of UNITY. They reveal the mind of a man who has risen above the limitations of his profession and who is concerned with the welfare of humanity. Some of his sentences sting, but they sting only as the truth always stings those who seek to hide their petty vanity and selfish ambitions under the cloak of pious and unctuous phrases. The first hits hard.

> Search all the papers of all the Foreign Offices as lately published by the Soviet, you may read plenty about the ambitions of Emperors, Prime Ministers, press and powder manufacturers; you see nothing—*not one word*—about the sentiments of the predestined food for powder.

We can be thankful for the revolutions in Europe for one thing. They have resulted in the opening of secret archives that otherwise would have been closed mayhap for a century. The second quotation supports the position taken by UNITY from the very beginning of the war. War is not natural; it is a horrible monstrosity.

> A great deal may be said for war, but '14-'18 has proved to me once for all that war is not, as has been argued, a part of human nature. And what it has proved to me is this, that to make armies go on killing one another, it is more necessary to invent lies than flame throwers and poison gas.

The next quotation is a challenge not only to the members of the British Legion to whom it was addressed but to all mankind.

We are going to try faithfully, and I hope without prejudice, to take stock of our world assets of goodwill, a commodity much more valuable than all the coke of the Ruhr.

We can give but one more quotation—a passage which we consider one of the most terrible indictments of the so-called "Peace of Versailles" ever uttered. The reader can be the judge.

When the battle was lost and won, Clemenceau and Lloyd George met together at Versailles. And because they had eaten of the insane root which takes the reason prisoner, they excluded the thought of reconciliation from their terms. That is to say, they made a peace that is a mockery of all the principles underlying peace.

The book discusses the main races of Europe, and has a chapter on America. It is interesting that Sir Ian, who knew the Tsar and had a strong affection for him, should urge the making of friends with Russia with all speed. This man is more than a soldier. He is a statesman with a world view. He has written a book that Americans will do well to read. It may help us to eradicate some of the virus of hate that remains in our systems.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Good-Will

Good-will is a natural force in the world of life. It is as potent in the world of life as is electricity in the world of matter. Good-will exists in inexhaustible quantities; and it may now be used with the practical precision of any natural force.

Good-will flows from man to man as does electricity from iron to iron. It warms and cheers the life of man as does electricity the body of man.

Good-will may be developed and set in motion wherever men are in contact with men as is electricity by the friction of fluids or solids.

Good-will is as workable as are any of the natural forces. That it was not long ago harnessed and set to work remaking the world of life is as remarkable as that electricity was not long ago harnessed and set to work remaking the world of matter. But within one century we have learned more about and done more with natural forces than in all previous time. Perhaps within another century we shall know more about and do more with good-will than in all time past. It may well be that within the next century there will be results of good-will as surprising as are the results of the mechanical revolution of the last century.

By the knowledge and application of the laws of good-will we may yet be able to predict and control our social conduct.

C. W. R.

CORRESPONDENCE

"AMERICA'S DUTY TO GERMANY."

(An Amendment Proposal.)

Editor of UNITY:

Mr. George Linnaeus Thompson in his article "America's Duty to Germany" published in the issue of UNITY of Nov. 8, 1923, has made a very remarkable (substitute) proposition to the following effect:—

"As a substitute proposition, instead of America assuming the entire burden, it might be well to consider the suggestion now heard (I heard it for the first time!) that Germany become one of the commonwealths of the British Empire. If her people so desire, retaining her national integrity, but like Canada and Australia, becoming a sister republic under British leadership."

If this was not printed in UNITY I would laugh, but it has given me food for thought, although so far no "UNITY-reader" has voiced any opinion on the matter.

Mr. Thompson starts out with the reparation problem, and asks America to assume the whole burden of the German debt, cancelling the French, Belgian and other countries' debts to America if they remit their shares due from Germany. The other proposition is to make Germany an integral part of the British Empire.

I am not concerned with the first part of his proposition. Accepting the proposition that Germany become a part of the British Empire through the kindness of the British statesmen in agreeing to the favor of annexation or incorporation, what will become of the German debt? Will the British Empire pay the debt? Or the situation for Germany will be that, Germany, as a part of the British Empire, will ask aid (military and diplomatic if you please) to preserve her security from the unreasonable Franco-Belgian demand for reparation and occupation of the German soil. Then there may be another war or trouble with France and Belgium with the British Empire. Of course in that case, or if there be such a possibility of intolerable conditions, the logical step will be that France and Belgium should not act in that way.

The U. S. should pay the debts to them or these unruly people of France and Belgium should be made self-governing republics and kingdom, respectively, under the British Empire.

But this will not solve the world troubles which Brother Thompson wishes to solve—because there is Russia, with awful social and economic conditions. Well, Russia should be a part of the British Empire so these people could be taught self-government under the leadership of the British Empire.

Then there is trouble in the Pacific. Japan is a menace to the future peace of the British Empire—no—the English-speaking union. Japan is getting too busy with trade competition in China thus forcing Britain to maintain a Singapore naval base, etc. To solve this problem let Japan become a part of the British Empire.

There is bandit-trouble in China; and the British government has very kindly already proposed the remedy of international control of China, by bringing the Chinese railroads under international control. Of course no international control is ever satisfactory and it always causes friction; and as long as Britain has the major interest in the trade of China (including smuggling Indian opium) and the "spheres of influence," it is better that China should come under British control, the sooner the better, and safer.

Well this will mean all Asia, including Russia, will be under the leadership of Britain because from Suez to Hongkong is really British. It will nicely fit in with British Australia.

There is no need of any discussion regarding Africa. Because it has been settled long ago by Cecil Rhodes' will—and Cape-Cairo railroad that all Africa should be British.

Now the problem of America should receive attention—there is trouble between U. S. A. and Mexico. Then there is the Philippine question, the Carribean question, the foolish Monroe Doctrine, prohibition, etc., which are really a great nuisance to the lovers of peace. There is serious possibility of Anglo-American conflict because of America's economic power, the effort to challenge Britain on the oil question and many other things. Then the best thing for America will be to come under the leadership of the British Empire and lend her enormous strength to make the world safe with peace for the British Empire. When the U. S. comes within the fold of the Empire and the Union Jack begins to float in place of the Stars and Stripes, then the problem of the South American Republic is already solved.

When I read Mr. Thompson's "substitute suggestion" I wondered what Lincoln would have thought if during the Civil War Mr. Thompson had suggested the substitute proposition for ending the trouble in the United States!!

Well, I admit, I am quite irrational, I cannot yet reconcile myself to the idea that the whole world has been made by God

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY—ECONOMICS PRIZES.

Essay Contest for College Students—$200 and $100 Prizes. Contest Closes June 1, 1924.

In memory of Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz, its late vice-president, the League for Industrial Democracy offers to college students for 1924 two Economics Prizes: the first of Two Hundred Dollars and the second of One Hundred Dollars.

The prizes will be judged by the following committee: Professor William F. Ogburn, Columbia University, editor of the *American Statistical Review*, Chairman; Professor Arthur N. Holcombe, Harvard University; Professor Alvin Johnson, New School for Social Research, and editor of the *New Republic;* Frederick Hewitt, editor of the *Machinists Monthly Journal;* Nicholas Kelley, lawyer, formerly Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury.

The topics suggested for Prize Essay subjects are:

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZED LABOR

Causes of Fluctuations in Trade Union Membership Since 1914.

Farmer and Labor Co-operation in a Third Party Movement—History, Difficulties, Possibilities.

Potential Organizability of Women in American Trade Unions.

Company Unions in the United States—their Origin, Cause of Development and Probable Future.

The Workers' Press—A Critical Analysis and a Plan for the Future.

PROBLEMS OF NATIONALIZATION

In connection with nationalization of the Mines, Railroads or Super-Power, one of the following subjects:

Financial Questions Involved in Nationalization—a Financial Plan.

A Plan for Unification.

Collective Bargaining Under Nationalization.

Representation in the Management of Different Parties Involved—Administrative Officers, Labor and the Public.

Regularity of Employment Under Nationalization.

Public Development of Super-Power Systems in the United States in the Light of the Experience of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission.

OTHER PROBLEMS

The Effect of Business Cycles on Radical Movements in the United States.

Remedy for the Housing Shortage, Based on Recent Experience.

Other subjects may be chosen by the contestants, but they must first be submitted to the Committee for approval.

*The contest is open to any undergraduate of an American college or normal school.** No prizes will be awarded if, in the judgment of the Committee, the essays submitted are not of sufficient merit. The copyright of the essays submitted will vest in the donors of the prize who reserve the right to issue them in permanent form. Competitors are advised that the studies should be thorough, expressed in good English, and, although not limited as to length, should not be needlessly expanded. They should be inscribed with an assumed name and accompanied by a sealed envelope giving the real name, address, college and class of the competitor. No paper is eligible which shall have been printed or published in a form to disclose the identity of the author before the award shall have been made. The papers should be mailed on or before *June* 1, 1924, to the *Prize Essay Contest Committee,* care of League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, Room No. 931, New York City.

Rewards will be announced about October 1st, 1924.

*It is understood that students in workers' colleges who are signed up for three or more courses each year for a period of not less than two years are also included.

---

for the British Empire, and thus I say Germany has an independent destiny apart from the British Empire. I even think that India has a destiny free from the British Empire. To Mr. Thompson, I may be crazy, but I admit that I honestly believe this.

Washington, D. C. TARAKNATH DAS.

AN EMERSON POEM FOR THE UNITY FELLOWSHIP

My dear Mr. Holmes:

Have you ever printed in UNITY the poem by Emerson, a copy of which I am enclosing? I do not remember seeing it. This poem always makes me think of the Unity Fellowship. And I hope—and even venture to believe—that all, everywhere, who are in sympathy with the spirit of the great humanitarian work that the Unity Fellowship is doing, are worthy to be counted among the "select family of sons."

Considering the present state of the world the number of these "sons" is, at best, pitifully few and that might serve as a reason for discouragement if one should allow himself to dwell upon the pressing need for help on all sides—help to save a sinking world! But the reflection that even though the number be few they are inbued with a spirit that is invincible is enough to prevent despondency. The "whisper" may be "low" but it is unceasing and no doubt nor fear can quell it.

The forces of reaction and destruction may seem to be rampant and powerful to the superficial view. But terrible as these are—like a cyclone or an earthquake—and terrifying as is the havoc that accompanies them, they are temporary and time and patience and faithful determination can and must win out. It may look as if,

> "—all the gain of hard-wrought centuries
> Is crumbling, with its builders,—into dust."

yet we know that stronger, surer than all else the infinite power for good underlies and will manifest in triumph. Surely, surely the power that has prevailed through the ages that have passed will never fail throughout the time to come.

The inspiration and tranquility of Emerson's beautiful lines sink into the heart like a prayer and make one feel communion with that invisible yet mightiest force of the universe. I am hoping that you will consider the poem suitable to reproduce in your magazine.

Very sincerely yours,
LYDIA WENTWORTH.

AN UNNAMED POEM BY EMERSON

Be of good cheer, brave spirit, steadfastly
Serve the low whisper thou hast served; for know
God hath a select family of sons
Now scattered wide through earth, and each alone,
Who are thy spiritual kindred, and each one
By constant service to that inward law,
Is weaving the sublime proportions
Of a true monarch's soul. Beauty and strength,
The riches of a spotless memory,
The eloquence of truth, the wisdom got
By searching of a clear and loving eye
That seeth as God seeth. These are their gifts;
And Time, who keeps God's word, brings on the day
To seal the marriage of these minds with thine,
Thine everlasting lovers. Ye shall be
The salt of all the elements, world of the world.

THE COUNTRY TO BE "CLEANED UP" BY KLANSMEN.

Editor of UNITY:

We have it from a newly fledged Klansman that the country is soon to be "cleaned up" by the three "K's."

Little did we know that the millennium was so near at hand. How charming it will be to live in homes purged of any broader love, than a four wall confine, to worship in scoured churches, where the prevailing color is white, to attend schools where the garbage of tolerance has been removed, and to partake of food in hotels, where greed is served in every course, and partakers are made of the "holier than thou" dust.

Furthermore, our enthusiastic novice tells us that one cause of the hectic desire to "clean up," lies in the fact that the Roman Catholic church is willing to receive and ordain colored members. Could Klansmen fail in such a crisis to use the vacuum cleaner?

After tearing the African from his native soil, in order to make a slave of him, in an alien land, after freeing (?) him from slavery, giving him the ballot, taking the ballot from him, and exploiting him, is it not a crime to receive him into a sacred church? This calls for drastic measures.

No wonder the Klansman wears a mask, and pays ten dollars to join this noble crusade against common decency.

SARA GERTRUDE HARRINGTON.

THE OTHER SHEPHERD

I was the Other Shepherd—
I heeded not their cry—
What was one great white star the more
In that deep-studded sky?

I followed not the Messenger—
How should my soul have known?
It might have been some singing lad,
His burnous far outblown!

My brothers followed him—
They came back nevermore
Thrifty and wise as they have been,
Counting the fleece and store;

Their eyes were bright with dreams—
They knelt along the sod
And babbled of some stranger-child
They called the Lamb of God;

There was a light across their brows,
A dream behind their eyes
That held their hearts from joy of gain,
Their hands from merchandise.

How could I stop to heed
The tale they had to tell?
I had the flocks to keep and watch
The fleece to pile and sell. . . .

Ay, I was very wise
Who followed not their way—
Great are the flocks and heads I own
And wide my lands today—

I wish I could not hear in sleep
The Messenger's clear cry,
Or see the flocking cloud-wings
Far off in that deep sky—

I wish I could not hear the voice—
"Thy sorrow—thine the sin,
Thou who wert called by the Messenger
And wouldst not enter in!"

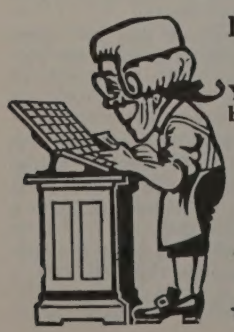
—Margaret Widdemer.

The "Survey."

UNITY

wishes Its Readers

a Happy New Year!



It's a "Case" of Necessity

Your Printing will be above criticism if done by

THE OAKLAND PRESS

3913 Cottage Grove
Tel., Atlantic 1876

Phone Oakland 489 JANITORS' SUPPLIES

Everything in HARDWARE

AT

PORTER'S
4236 Cottage Grove Ave.

WRIGHT & COMPANY

STEAM—DOMESTIC

COAL

TELEPHONE WABASH 5028
Main Office:
28 E. Jackson Blvd.
CHICAGO

The Blakely-Oswald Printing Co.

PRINTERS and BINDERS

Telephone Wabash 3854 120-124 W. Polk St., CHICAGO

Perfect Pasteurization

BOWMAN'S MILK is perfectly pasteurized to assure its absolute purity.

Rapid, direct delivery from farm to you brings it sweet and fresh.

BOWMAN DAIRY Company

DREXEL State Bank

Cottage Grove Ave. *and* Oakwood Blvd.

Thirty-two years of conservative banking, combined with service and courtesy for every depositor —large or small—is the record of this bank . . . . . .

Your savings and checking account cordially invited

Resources Six and one-half Million Dollars

IN DECEMBER

The holidays, with their rounds of entertainments and festivities, make extraordinary demands upon evening wardrobes. While here is a service which can be depended on to beautifully cleanse and condition each dress garment entrusted to its care.

PHONE DREXEL 0231 : : : : : ALL DEPARTMENTS

Schumann & Co
Cleaners Dyers

MAIN OFFICE AND WORK
3960 Cottage Grove Avenue

Subscribe for and read
UNITY